

# **EXHIBIT 68**

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA  
(SOUTHERN DIVISION)

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LAKEISHA CHESTNUT, *et al.*,  
Plaintiffs,  
v.  
JOHN MERRILL, in his official  
capacity as Alabama Secretary of State  
Defendant.

Civil Action No. 2:18-cv-00907-KOB

**EXPERT REPORT OF M.V. HOOD III**

I, M.V. Hood III, affirm the conclusions I express in this report are provided to a reasonable degree of professional certainty. In addition, I do hereby declare the following:

## **I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

My name is M.V. (Trey) Hood III, and I am a tenured professor at the University of Georgia with an appointment in the Department of Political Science. I have been a faculty member at the University of Georgia since 1999. I also serve as the Director of the School of Public and International Affairs Survey Research Center. I am an expert in American politics, specifically in the areas of electoral politics, racial politics, election administration, and Southern politics. I teach courses on American politics, Southern politics, and research methods and have taught graduate seminars on the topics of election administration and Southern politics.

I have received research grants from the National Science Foundation and the Pew Charitable Trust. I have also published peer-reviewed journal articles specifically in the areas of redistricting and vote dilution. My academic publications are detailed in a copy of my vita that is attached to the end of this document. Currently, I serve on the editorial boards for *Social Science Quarterly* and *Election Law Journal*. The latter is a peer-reviewed academic journal focused on the area of election administration.

During the preceding four years, I have offered expert testimony (through deposition or at trial) in fourteen cases around the United States: *United States v. North Carolina*, 1:13-cv-861 (M.D. N.C.), *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, 3:14-cv-00852 (E.D. Va.), *The Ohio Democratic Party v. Husted*, 2:15-cv-1802 (S.D. Ohio), *The Northeast Ohio Coalition v. Husted*, 2:06-cv-00896 (S.D. Ohio), *One Wisconsin Institute v. Nichol*, 3:15-cv-324 (W.D. Wis.), *Covington v. North Carolina*, 1:15-cv-00399 (M.D. N.C.), *Green Party of Tennessee v. Hargett*, 3:11-cv-00692 (M.D. Tenn.), *Vesilind v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, CL15003886-00 (Richmond Circuit Court), *Common Cause v. Rucho*, 1:16-cv-1026 (M.D. N.C.), *Greater Birmingham Ministries v. Merrill*, 2:15-cv-02193 (N.D. Ala), *Anne Harding v. County of Dallas, Texas*, 3:15-cv-00131 (N.D. Tex.), *Feldman v. Arizona Secretary of State's Office*, 2:16-cv-16-01065 (Ari.), *League of Women Voters v. Gardner*, 226-2017-cv-00433 (Hillsborough Superior Court), and *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Ryan Smith*, 1:18-cv-357 (S.D. Ohio).

In assisting the Defendants in analyzing the Alabama's congressional districts, I am receiving \$350 an hour for this work and \$350 an hour for any testimony associated with this work. In reaching my conclusions, I have drawn on my training, experience, and knowledge as a social scientist who has specifically conducted research in the area of redistricting and vote dilution. My compensation in this case is not dependent upon the outcome of the litigation or the substance of my opinions.

## **II. SCOPE AND OVERVIEW**

I have been asked by counsel for the defendant to provide a response to reports by plaintiffs' experts, Mr. William Cooper and Professor Maxwell Palmer. I begin by providing a short review of redistricting in Alabama in Section III of my report. Section IV examines plaintiffs' illustrative districts using several criteria, including racial composition, core retention, population movement, and functionality. The following section, Section V, discusses the plaintiffs' claims in relation to redistricting in Alabama following the 2020 Census. In addition to responding to plaintiffs' experts, I was also asked by the defendant to answer two additional questions. First, how do black voting patterns in Alabama compare to other states? Second, do racial disparities on various socioeconomic factors exist outside of Alabama? A discussion of these questions is found in Sections VI and VII, respectively. A synopsis of my overall conclusions in this matter is contained in Section VIII.

Note: Throughout this report I refer to different congressional plans. The plan challenged in this matter is referred to as the enacted plan, or the 2011 plan. The four plans proposed by plaintiff's expert, William Cooper, are referred to as Hypothetical Plans 1 through 4 (sometimes abbreviated as H1, H2, H3, and H4).

## **III. BACKGROUND**

Following the 2010 Census, Alabama redrew its congressional districts in 2011.<sup>1</sup> The enacted plan included one majority black voting age population district (CD 7). In 2011, Alabama was a covered jurisdiction under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. As such, the state submitted its congressional plan for preclearance with the U.S. Department of Justice. Alabama has had one majority BVAP district since 1992. CD 7 has been in approximately the same geographic area over the past three decades and has consistently elected a black Democrat from 1992 to the present. In 2011, the map drawers in Alabama sought to ensure that the proposed plan would not be rejected under the *retrogression standard* enunciated under Section 5.<sup>2</sup> In the preclearance document submitted by the state, the BVAP for District 7 was increased to 60.55% under the 2011 plan, as compared to 58.33% under the benchmark plan (2002). The state notes in its preclearance submission that the increase in BVAP for CD 7 in 2011 is an indication that the plan *cannot be regarded as retrogressive*.<sup>3</sup> The 2011 plan was precleared by the Department of Justice and has been in use since the 2012 election-cycle. The plaintiffs in the present matter assert that Alabama's 2011 congressional plan has the effect of diluting black voting strength under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. In their complaint, plaintiffs argue that Alabama should have drawn a second majority black congressional district in 2011.

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<sup>1</sup>Alabama Act No. 2011-518.

<sup>2</sup>See "Guidance Concerning Redistricting under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act." *Federal Register*. Vol. 76, No. 27, February 9, 2011.

<sup>3</sup>See *Preclearance Submission of Alabama Act No. 2011-518*. (Chestnut Defense 0424).

#### **IV. PLAINTIFFS' ILLUSTRATIVE DISTRICTS**

In this section, I examine a number of factors related to the plaintiffs' hypothetical districts created by Mr. Cooper. In his report, Mr. Cooper presents four hypothetical plans that each contain two majority BVAP districts (CDs 2 and 7). For each plan, I analyze these two districts on the following factors: district racial composition; district core retention; and the populations moved from the enacted plan to create these illustrative districts.

##### **A. District Racial Composition**

Using block-level equivalency files provided by the plaintiffs, I replicated the district racial composition of Districts 2 and 7 in Mr. Cooper's four hypothetical plans. Mr. Cooper categorizes an individual as black to include any person who is *Any Part Black* (*i.e. persons of two or more races and some part Black*), *including Hispanic black*.<sup>4</sup> It is my understanding that the Alabama Reapportionment Office does not rely on such a definition, but instead categorizes individuals who identify as non-Hispanic single-race Black or African American as being "black."<sup>5</sup> As such, I recalculated the racial composition of the hypothetical districts using this definition. While black citizens have been shown to exhibit cohesive voting patterns, I am unaware of any research that would undergird this same proclivity for individuals who identify racially as part black, or ethnically as Hispanic.<sup>6</sup> In fact, it is common practice in social science research to classify self-identified *Hispanics* of any race as Hispanic.<sup>7</sup>

Table 1 below details the racial calculations provided by Mr. Cooper along with my calculations based on the definition used by the State of Alabama. Using Mr. Cooper's more expansive definition of the black voting age population, Districts 2 and 7 under each of the hypothetical plans are greater than 50% black, ranging from a low of 50.28% (Plan 3) to a high of 51.95% (Plan 2). Using a measure of single-race non-Hispanic black, two of the four plans drawn by Mr. Cooper contain a district that is below fifty percent black voting age population. These are District 7, Plan 3 and District 2, Plan 4. Under this set of calculations, BVAP figures range from a low of 49.70% (Plan 4) to a high of 51.46% (Plan 2).

Table 1. District Racial Voting Age Population Comparisons

	Cooper		Hood	
	CD 2	CD 7	CD 2	CD 7
Enacted (2011)	28.26%	60.91%	27.76%	60.34%
Hypothetical 1	51.32%	50.68%	50.69%	50.18%
Hypothetical 2	51.37%	51.96%	50.72%	51.46%
Hypothetical 3	50.99%	50.28%	50.35%	<b>49.78%</b>
Hypothetical 4	50.33%	50.74%	<b>49.70%</b>	50.24%

<sup>4</sup>Expert Report of William Cooper. *Chestnut v. Merrill* [2:18-cv-907-KOB]. March 8, 2018. Footnote 6.

<sup>5</sup>Information received through counsel.

<sup>6</sup>Professor Palmer's voting analysis classifies only registrants who identify as *black* as being African American. See Expert Report of Maxwell Palmer. *Chestnut v. Merrill* [2:18-cv-907-KOB]. March 8, 2018. Paragraphs 13-14.

<sup>7</sup>See for example, "Charles S. Bullock, III and M.V. Hood III. 2006. "A Mile-Wide Gap: The Evolution of Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(5): 1,117-1,135.

For at least two of the hypothetical plans provided (H3 and H4), there is at least some doubt as to whether there are actually two districts that are a majority BVAP. The remaining plans (H1 and H2) contain districts that are a majority BVAP, but just above this threshold. Plan 1 contains a district that is 50.18% BVAP and Plan 2 a district that is 50.72% BAVP. This fact raises the issue of whether such a district could, in reality, function as a black opportunity-to-elect district. CD7, currently at 60.3% BVAP, has been able to function as such a district. This detail is undergirded by Professor Palmer's analysis as presented in his expert report.<sup>8</sup> To my knowledge, none of the experts for the plaintiffs have performed a functionality analysis on Mr. Cooper's hypothetical majority-BVAP districts in order to determine if these districts might perform as opportunity-to-elect districts for black voters in Alabama. This would seem to be a crucial question to answer in this case, especially given the possibility that such plans might create a situation where Alabama moves from one functioning black opportunity-to-elect district to possibly zero (see Section IV.D for further discussion of district functionality).

## B. District Core Retention

In this section I examine Districts 2 and 7 from Mr. Cooper's four hypothetical plans based on core retention. Table 2 details the percentage of the population for districts in the hypothetical plans held over from the corresponding enacted district plan. For this analysis, I used Census block-level population data. For each block I had both its 2011 district assignment as well as its hypothetical district assignment. Aggregating these blocks by the share of the 2011 district contained within the hypothetical district allows one to calculate the share of a hypothetical district comprised of a former district.<sup>9</sup>

Table 2. District Core Retention

District	Hypothetical 1	Hypothetical 2	Hypothetical 3	Hypothetical 4
1	58.42	58.45	58.50	55.68
2	28.34	39.50	29.19	28.46
3	75.66	76.73	70.50	64.58
4	96.35	92.28	92.41	92.29
5	99.99	99.99	99.99	99.99
6	78.43	86.58	78.54	75.34
7	77.20	86.63	73.10	80.10
Mean	73.5	77.2	71.8	70.9

To a large extent, the hypothetical districting plans preserve the cores of districts as they exist under the enacted plan, except for the hypothetical District 2. In this case, only between 28.3 percent to 39.5 percent of the current District 2 is contained within a hypothetical District 2. One of the stated redistricting criteria from the enacted plan placed an emphasis on preserving *the*

<sup>8</sup>Expert Report of Maxwell Palmer. *Chestnut v. Merrill* [2:18-cv-907-KOB]. March 8, 2018. See especially analysis pertaining to CD 7 (Table 8 and paragraphs 37-38).

<sup>9</sup>For these calculations I am using voting age population.

*cores of existing districts.*<sup>10</sup> This criterion, in practice, would mean making minimum population swaps across districts in order to comply with the provision to equalize population. The hypothetical plans presented by the plaintiffs move a substantial number of citizens in order to create a reconstituted majority BVAP District 2. Such would seem to violate the spirit of Alabama's stated goals when drawing congressional districts.

### C. Analysis of Population Shifts

This section examines the population shifts that would be undertaken to create two majority BVAP districts under each of the four hypothetical plans. More specifically, I examine the movement of voting age population by race that would occur if the enacted plan were replaced with one of the plaintiffs' hypothetical plans. On this metric, I will be specifically concentrating on Districts 2 and 7, which are the two majority BVAP districts in each of the hypothetical plans.

Table 3 examines voting age population shifts that would occur under plaintiffs' first hypothetical plan (H1). The top panel presents information on a redrawn District 2, dividing the voting age population into three groups: those being moved out of the current District 2 (enacted plan); those being moved into the new District 2 (H1); and those in District 2 under the enacted plan who would be remaining (the district core). Mr. Cooper's H1 plan would move 275,204 white voting age persons out of District 2. Conversely, 196,866 black voting age persons would be moved into the new District 2. Stated otherwise, whites would constitute 74.6% of those persons removed from the district and blacks would constitute more than a majority (53.1%) of those individuals being shifted into the new District 2.

The column labeled "Net Movement" simply subtracts, for each racial group, the number of those moved into the district from the number moved out of the district. A positive number indicates more individuals were shifted out of the district than were moved in. A negative number indicates the opposite, more individuals were moved into the district than were moved out of the district. Almost 122,000 more black voting age persons were moved into the new District 2 than were moved out of the district. For the white voting age population, approximately 117,000 more moved out of District 2, compared to the number moved into the district. Movement (in and out of District 2) and race are not independent of one another; instead these factors are related in a statistically significant manner. Stated otherwise, we would not expect to find this pattern by random chance.<sup>11</sup>

The second panel displays the same information for CD 7 under H1. In this case, much more of the original district is maintained, with 57.6% of the core comprised of black voting age individuals. In the case of District 7, the racial characteristics of those moved in and out of the district are similar. In total, slightly more blacks were moved out of the district and slightly more whites were shifted into the district. This fact makes sense in light of the fact that the overall

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<sup>10</sup>See *Preclearance Submission of Alabama Act No. 2011-518*. (Chestnut Defense 0267). I am not arguing that this criterion overrides all redistricting criteria, as it certainly does not. This criterion, however, was a stated objective of the 2011 congressional plan.

<sup>11</sup>I conducted a Chi-square test to determine if the relationship between population shifts and movement are independent of one another. The Chi-square value of 87,550.8 is statistically significant at the p<.001. Based on this test statistic, the hypothesis that race and population shifts are related is confirmed.

BVAP of District 7 under H1 would be markedly diminished. As with CD2, testing confirms that race is related to movement in and out of District 7 in a statistically significant manner.<sup>12</sup>

Table 3. Analysis of Voting Age Populations by Race moved under Hypothetical Plan 1

CD	Moved out of District	Moved into District	Not Moved	Net Movement
<b>District 2</b>				
Black VAP	73,900 (20.0%)	195,866 (53.1%)	65,200 (44.7%)	-121,966
White VAP	275,204 (74.6%)	157,859 (42.8%)	71,492 (49.0%)	117,345
Other VAP	19,991 (5.4%)	15,343 (4.2%)	9,266 (6.3%)	4,648
Total	369,095	369,068	145,958	
<b>District 7</b>				
Black VAP	32,528 (28.2%)	30,106 (25.0%)	234,614 (57.6%)	2,422
White VAP	80,708 (70.0%)	84,325 (70.1%)	153,194 (37.6%)	-3,617
Other VAP	2,108 (1.8%)	5,873 (4.9%)	19,422 (4.8%)	-3,765
Total	115,344	120,304	407,230	

The next table (Table 4) examines population movement for Districts 2 and 7 under Hypothetical Plan 2. Looking at CD 2, 76.2% of those moved out of the district were white, compared with 56.3% of those moved into the district who were black. In all, 117,701 more blacks of voting age were moved into the district than moved out of the district. For whites, the opposite is the case—117,908 more whites were moved out of the district than moved into the district. The observed relationship between race and district population shifts did not occur by random chance.<sup>13</sup>

The bottom panel examines these same metrics for District 7. Here, more than a majority of the district core is comprised of African Americans of voting age. Of those persons moved out of the district, 77.0% are black, while almost three-quarters (72.5%) of those moved into the district are white. Again, the association between race and population movement is statistically significant.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Chi-square test statistic: 2,284.4. Significant at p<.001.

<sup>13</sup>Chi-square test statistic: 97,623.5. Significant at p<.001.

<sup>14</sup>Chi-square test statistic: 50,757.4. Significant at p<.001.

Table 4. Analysis of Voting Age Populations by Race moved under Hypothetical Plan 2

CD	Moved out of District	Moved into District	Not Moved	Net Movement
<b>District 2</b>				
Black VAP	58,302 (18.4%)	176,003 (56.3%)	86,198 (42.2%)	-117,701
White VAP	241,083 (76.2%)	123,175 (39.4%)	105,613 (51.7%)	117,908
Other VAP	16,853 (5.3%)	13,600 (4.3%)	12,404 (6.1%)	3,253
Total	316,238	312,778	204,215	
<b>District 7</b>				
Black VAP	64,926 (77.0%)	19,290 (22.5%)	250,396 (57.1%)	45,006
White VAP	17,489 (20.8%)	62,142 (72.5%)	168,233 (38.4%)	-44,653
Other VAP	1,854 (2.2%)	4,340 (5.1%)	19,676 (4.5%)	-2,486
Total	84,269	85,772	438,305	

Table 5 below displays population shifts for Hypothetical Plan 3. Looking at the panel for District 2 one can note that most (73.7%) of the population removed from the district was white, while more than a majority (52.8%) of the population shifted into the district was black. The net population column is also notable in this case, with 114,389 more blacks moved into the district than out of the district. In the case of the white voting age population, 115,883 more persons were shifted out of the district than were moved into the district. The relationship between race and district population movement is statistically significant.<sup>15</sup>

For District 7 under H3, three-fifths of the district core is comprised of persons in the black voting age population category. Of those moved into the district, 72.1% are white, compared to those moved out of the district, 62.7% of whom are black. The pattern denoted between race and population movement for District 7 is statistically significant.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Chi-square test statistic: 80,381.1. Significant at p<.001.

<sup>16</sup>Chi-square test statistic: 44,158.5. Significant at p<.001.

Table 5. Analysis of Voting Age Populations by Race moved under Hypothetical Plan 3

CD	Moved out of District	Moved into District	Not Moved	Net Movement
<b>District 2</b>				
Black VAP	77,651 (21.0%)	192,040 (52.8%)	66,849 (44.5%)	-114,389
White VAP	272,830 (73.7%)	156,947 (43.1%)	73,866 (49.2%)	115,883
Other VAP	19,889 (5.4%)	15,066 (4.1%)	9,368 (6.2%)	10,521
Total	370,370	364,053	150,083	
<b>District 7</b>				
Black VAP	86,625 (62.7%)	33,124 (23.4%)	228,697 (59.5%)	53,501
White VAP	48,174 (34.9%)	102,060 (72.1%)	137,548 (35.8%)	-53,886
Other VAP	3,253 (2.4%)	6,283 (4.4%)	18,277 (4.8%)	-3,030
Total	138,052	141,467	384,522	

Finally, Table 6 examines district population shifts for plaintiffs' Hypothetical Plan 4. As with the preceding plans discussed, District 2 exhibits the same general patterns. Almost three-quarters (73.7%) of those moved out of District 2 were in the white VAP category, while more than a majority (51.7%) of those moved into the district were black. In terms of net population movement within racial groups, 114,389 more blacks of voting age were moved into the district than were moved out of the district. Conversely, 115,883 more whites were moved out of District 2 than were moved into District 2. Testing indicates a statistically significant relationship between race and population movement for District 2.<sup>17</sup>

Looking at the bottom panel of Table 6 one can see that close to three-fifths of the core of District 7 was comprised of individuals in the black voting age population category. Of those moved into District 7, 73.1% are white. The opposite pattern emerges when examining movement out of the district where 73.7% are black. The relationship between racial VAP and population movement into and out of District 7 is statistically significant.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Chi-square test statistic: 75,368.9. Significant at p<.001.

<sup>18</sup>Chi-square test statistic: 54,220.8. Significant at p<.001

Table 6. Analysis of Voting Age Populations by Race moved under Hypothetical Plan 4

CD	Moved out of District	Moved into District	Not Moved	Net
<b>District 2</b>				
Black VAP	79,300 (21.2%)	189,652 (51.7%)	65,200 (44.7%)	-115,752
White VAP	275,204 (73.5%)	161,408 (44.0%)	71,492 (49.0%)	113,796
Other VAP	19,991 (5.3%)	15,749 (4.3%)	9,266 (6.3%)	4,242
Total	374,495	366,809	145,958	
<b>District 7</b>				
Black VAP	73,849 (73.7%)	23,434 (22.3%)	241,473 (57.2%)	50,415
White VAP	24,482 (24.4%)	76,711 (73.1%)	161,240 (38.2%)	-52,229
Other VAP	1,912 (1.9%)	4,759 (4.5%)	19,618 (4.6%)	-2,847
Total	100,243	104,904	422,331	

### Summary

For each of the hypothetical plans presented by the plaintiffs, there are discernible patterns regarding the movement of racial groups used to create Districts 2 and 7. Further, there is statistical evidence that race and population movement are not independent of one another—they are instead related.

### D. District Functionality

The plaintiffs in this matter have presented four alternative districting plans that, under some calculations, produce two majority BVAP districts (on this point see Section IV.A). None of the plaintiffs' experts, however, have produced any analyses to determine if these illustrative districts could, indeed, function as black opportunity-to-elect districts. While BVAP is one measure that can be used to help in determining the presence of a racial majority, it is not necessarily representative of race in the electorate.

### Voter Turnout

In this section I make use of voter registration and turnout data to draw some inferences about the functionality of the plaintiffs' illustrative districts. There can sometimes be a drop-off from

voting-age population to the number in a group who are registered to vote. As well, there can also be a drop-off moving from voter registration to voter turnout. The implication being a district with a bare voting age majority of a racial group may not be able to actually function as such, electorally-speaking.

In his report Professor Palmer documents what he describes as *high levels of racially polarized voting in the focus area and each congressional district individually*.<sup>19</sup> In one analysis, Professor Palmer reports an estimated 98.3% of blacks voting for Democratic candidates, versus just 17.4% of white voters. In another analysis he conducts, these figures are 94.1% and 16.7% respectively.<sup>20</sup> Assuming Professor Palmer's numbers are current, given the high levels of racially polarized voting documented by the plaintiffs, there is very little white crossover voting that can contribute to the electoral coalition of a Democratic candidate. As such, the size of the racial minority group becomes even more salient.

Using voter registration and history data from the Alabama Secretary of State I was able to calculate turnout rates by race for general elections from 2010 to 2018.<sup>21</sup> These results are presented in Table 7 below. For five of the six election-cycles analyzed the white turnout rate exceeds that for black registrants. The sole exception was the 2012 presidential election where black turnout was 0.9-points higher than that for whites. Across all six election-cycles, the white turnout rate was an average 4.8 points higher than that for black registrants. The comparable figure for midterm elections is 5.6-points, and for presidential elections it is 3.6-points. There is some evidence then that black turnout rates in Alabama lag behind those for whites. As such, reliance on voting age population or registration data may underestimate the actual degree to which an area may constitute an electoral majority.

Table 7. Alabama Voter Turnout by Race, 2010-2018

Election-Cycle	White	Black	Difference
2010	52.4%	44.9%	7.5
2012	65.4%	66.3%	-0.9
2014	41.9%	36.1%	5.8
2016	67.0%	58.8%	8.2
2018	51.0%	47.5%	3.5
Average-All	55.5%	50.7%	4.8
Average-Midterm	48.4%	42.8%	5.6
Average-Presidential	66.2%	62.6%	3.6

<sup>19</sup>Expert Report of Maxwell Palmer. *Chestnut v. Merrill* [2:18-cv-907-KOB]. March 8, 2018. Paragraph 36.

<sup>20</sup>Expert Report of Maxwell Palmer. *Chestnut v. Merrill* [2:18-cv-907-KOB]. March 8, 2018. Paragraphs 36 and 20.

<sup>21</sup>Turnout is measured as voters as a percentage of registrants. This analysis relies on population data of registered voters and, as a consequence, significance testing is not necessary.

## **V. POST-2020 CONSIDERATIONS**

There is a possibility that Alabama may lose a congressional seat in the 2020 reapportionment, bringing the total for the state from seven to six.<sup>22</sup> Under such a scenario, the ideal district size would increase over the current ideal district size. The ideal district size for the 2011 enacted plan is 628,819. Alabama's 2018 total population estimate is 4,887,871.<sup>23</sup> Using this figure under a six-district congressional plan, the ideal district size would be 814,645—an increase of 131,826 over the current ideal district size.

Mr. Cooper contends that two majority BVAP congressional districts can be drawn under the current seven-district configuration. Even if true, the loss of a congressional district following the 2020 Census raises a real question about whether the creation of more than one majority BVAP seat would be possible. In his report, Mr. Cooper is certainly cognizant of this possibility, opining *it is probable that two majority-Black districts can be drawn in central and south Alabama based on the 2020 Census, even under a six-district plan.*<sup>24</sup> To reach this opinion, however, Mr. Cooper does not present any hypothetical districting plan demonstrating that drawing two majority BVAP districts under such assumptions would, indeed, be possible.

In his report Mr. Cooper makes use of a geographic study area that he asserts, at present, is more than sufficient to create two majority BVAP districts.<sup>25</sup> He again references this study area to discuss the post-2020 redistricting. This area encompasses thirty counties in the state (in the discussion that follows I make use of whole counties listed in Table 8). Using the most recent Census data, the total population of this geographic area is 2,282,466.<sup>26</sup> Assuming a future plan with six districts, this area would contain enough population to create 2.8 congressional districts. The total BVAP for this area is estimated to currently stand at 37.2%.<sup>27</sup>

In Table 8, I provide black voting age population comparisons for counties located in this study area. From 2010 to 2017, twelve counties saw a decrease in black voting age population. Another two counties (Bibb and Washington) were essentially static, seeing only a 0.1% increase in their BVAP count over this time period. Conversely, notable BVAP growth is present in larger urban counties (Jefferson, Mobile, Montgomery, and Tuscaloosa). Increasingly then, drawing future opportunity to elect districts will involve combining black populations in urban areas, which are not necessarily geographically proximate. This fact, and the population loss of black citizens in many rural counties, will make such a goal more difficult to accomplish (even in the case of drawing a single majority BVAP district).<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>See for example Election Data Services Report ([https://www.electiondataservices.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/NR\\_Appor18wTablesMaps-20181219.pdf](https://www.electiondataservices.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/NR_Appor18wTablesMaps-20181219.pdf)) and Polidata (<http://www.polidata.org/news.htm>).

<sup>23</sup>U.S. Census Bureau. "Annual Estimates of the Resident Population, 2010 to 2018".

<sup>24</sup>Expert Report of Mr. William Cooper. *Chestnut v. Merrill* [2:18-cv-907-KOB]. March 8, 2018. p. 40.

<sup>25</sup>Expert Report of Mr. William Cooper. *Chestnut v. Merrill* [2:18-cv-907-KOB]. March 8, 2018. pp. 21-22.

<sup>26</sup>U.S. Census Bureau. 2017 American Community Survey (5-Year Estimates). Tables B01001 and B01001B.

<sup>27</sup>In 2018, black registration for the study area stood at 38.5%. Source: Alabama Secretary of State.

<sup>28</sup>While Mr. Cooper assumes population gains in urban counties will offset those in rural counties, a much more precise picture of exactly where black population growth is occurring within Jefferson, Mobile, Montgomery, and Tuscaloosa Counties is required to make such a claim. If the areas of these counties that are gaining in black population are conterminous with areas gaining in white population, then inclusion of these geographic areas will

Table 8. Black Voting Age Population in Cooper Study Area, 2010 to 2017

County	2010 BVAP	2017 BVAP	Difference
Autauga County	6,767	7,684	917
Baldwin County	12,272	13,937	1,665
Barbour County	9,647	9,612	(35)
Bibb County	3,975	4,020	45
Bullock County	5,838	6,078	240
Butler County	6,504	6,644	140
Chilton County	2,991	3,215	224
Choctaw County	4,562	4,371	(191)
Clarke County	8,123	8,406	283
Conecuh County	4,410	4,382	(28)
Coosa County	2,734	3,004	270
Crenshaw County	2,405	2,522	117
Dallas County	21,322	20,648	(674)
Greene County	5,427	5,176	(251)
Hale County	6,699	6,611	(88)
Jefferson County	200,810	209,170	8,360
Lowndes County	6,144	5,824	(320)
Macon County	13,985	12,955	(1,030)
Marengo County	7,924	7,980	56
Mobile County	99,886	105,889	6,003
Monroe County	6,864	6,625	(239)
Montgomery County	90,359	96,283	5,924
Perry County	5,174	4,947	(227)
Pickens County	5,966	6,237	271
Pike County	9,042	9,823	781
Sumter County	7,721	7,305	(416)
Talladega County	19,115	19,902	787
Tuscaloosa County	41,536	47,533	5,997
Washington County	3,130	3,133	3
Wilcox County	5,933	5,684	(249)
<b>Totals</b>	<b>627,265</b>	<b>655,600</b>	<b>28,335</b>

While it is certainly true that one could split this area into two districts in any number of ways, the fact that the black voting age population stands at 37% raises some question as to whether two majority BVAP districts could be drawn under such assumptions, especially without subjugating traditional redistricting principles. Of course, nothing says one could not reach

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offset each other in racial terms. In other words, such a scenario hardly assists one in creating a majority BVAP district.

outside Mr. Cooper's study in order to include other territory. Once one moves in that direction, however, other districts will naturally be affected by such decisions. This fact points to the need for a statewide hypothetical districting plan using six districts to be provided by the plaintiffs. This plan would need to demonstrate that two majority BVAP districts could be drawn using more recent data reflective of population changes since 2010. Further, any black opportunity to elect district in such a plan would need to be subjected to a functional analysis to demonstrate electoral viability. A six-district illustrative plan would also, of course, need to comply with traditional redistricting criteria (e.g. compactness, contiguity, maintaining communities of interest). While such may be possible, Mr. Cooper provides no such hypothetical plan in his report to demonstrate this fact.

## **VI. BLACK VOTING PATTERNS**

In this section I compare black voting patterns in Alabama to other states. More specifically, I provide comparisons with the twenty states that had a black population of 10% or greater based on the most recent Census data.<sup>29</sup> These states are Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. For each of these states I have recorded the percentage of the black electorate casting ballots for the Democratic candidate in the following statewide contests: U.S. President, U.S. Senate, and Governor. In addition, I was also able to collect some data for U.S. House elections using the pooled statewide vote for all Democratic candidates.<sup>30</sup> My analysis spans six election-cycles, from 2008 through 2018. In this case the need to produce estimates of black voting behavior is negated; instead, we can rely on survey data from which such estimates can be derived. I make use of two well-known surveys, the National Exit Polls<sup>31</sup> and the Cooperative Congressional Election Studies (CCES) (see also Appendix B).<sup>32</sup> Both are large-scale surveys designed to provide representative samples of voters at the state-level.<sup>33</sup>

A summary of results for the set of comparison states using National Exit Poll data is found in Table 9 (Appendix B, Tables A-K display detailed election data collected from the National Exit Poll and the CCES). These results exhibit very high levels of black support for Democratic candidates across elective offices from 2008 through 2018. For example, average black support for Democratic presidential candidates was 93.6%; for Democratic gubernatorial candidates average support was 89.3%; and for Democratic U.S. Senate candidates it was 90.1%. Across all contests analyzed the mean Democratic vote was 91.1%. The exit poll data only provides three elections to analyze from Alabama during this time period (see Table 10). The mean Democratic vote for these three contests was 94.3%.

<sup>29</sup>Source: 2017 American Community Survey (5-year average).

<sup>30</sup>All elections used for analysis, including U.S. Congress, are two-party contested.

<sup>31</sup>Note: In a given election-cycle, an exit poll is not necessarily conducted in every state.

<sup>32</sup>At the time these election data were collected, the 2018 CCES study had not been released.

<sup>33</sup>For the CCES, in order for a state to be included in my analysis I set a minimum threshold of thirty respondents. Using this data source, I was also able to calculate a 95% confidence interval around each estimate. In only one case of the 220 analyzed, did the lower bound on the confidence interval dip below 50% Democratic support. For all other elections analyzed then (99.5%), we can be confident from a statistical perspective that the Democratic candidate received majority support for black voters.

Table 9. Black Voting Patterns in Comparison States, 2008-2018

<b>Year</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
2008	95.6%	94.0%	91.2%
2010		91.2%	89.4%
2012	95.1%	88.5%	91.5%
2014		87.8%	92.2%
2016	89.1%	90.0%	86.2%
2018		87.8%	89.6%
2008-2018	93.6%	89.3%	90.1%
<b>All Races</b>	<b>91.1%</b>		
<i>N</i>	135		

Source: National Exit Polls.

Table 10. Black Voting Patterns in Alabama, 2008-2018

<b>Year</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
2008	98%		90%
2010			
2012	95%		
2014			
2016			
2018			
2008-2018	96.5%		90%
<b>All Races</b>	<b>94.3%</b>		

Source: National Exit Polls.

Table 11 displays results for the twenty comparison states using data from the CCES, from 2008 to 2016. Once again, these results indicate black voters are highly likely to support Democratic candidates. For president, Democratic support averaged 91.5%. Comparable figures for other offices include 89.8% for governor, 92.1% for U.S. Senate, and 90.1% for U.S. House. The average Democratic support across all offices was 91.5%. From the CCES there are a total of twelve contests available to analyze for Alabama (see Table 12). In Alabama, average Democratic support for president stood at 96.2%. The comparable figures for other offices were as follows: governor 92.1%, U.S. Senate 85.7%, and U.S. House 90.2%. Mean Democratic support across these twelve elections stood at 90.9%.

Table 11. Black Voting Patterns in Comparison States, 2008-2016

<b>Year</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
2008	96.7%	94.6%	93.7%	93.1%
2010		92.1%	92.6%	91.2%
2012	94.4%	95.0%	95.0%	92.2%
2014		86.1%	91.2%	89.1%
2016	92.5%	90.6%	88.3%	85.7%
2008-2016	94.3%	89.8%	92.1%	90.1%
<b>All Races</b>	<b>91.5%</b>			
<i>N</i>	220			

Source: CCES.

Table 12. Black Voting Patterns in Alabama, 2008-2016

<b>Year</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
2008	95.9%		80.2%	
2010		93.8%	81.7%	83.3%
2012	93.7%			88.0%
2014		90.3%		95.5%
2016	99.1%		95.2%	94.1%
2008-2016	96.2%	92.1%	85.7%	90.2%
<b>All Races</b>	<b>90.9%</b>			

Source: CCES.

The analysis in this section reveals that Democratic support from black voters, on average, exceeds 90%. This fact is true both for Alabama and a group of twenty comparison states. Of the 370 races analyzed, both inside and outside of Alabama, in no case did black support for a Democratic candidate ever dip below majority support. In summary, black voting patterns for Democratic candidates across these jurisdictions could be characterized as being close to monolithic.

## **VII. RACIAL COMPARISONS**

I was asked by counsel for the defendants to determine if racial disparities present in Alabama also exist in other states. In this section I analyze racial disparity rates between blacks and whites in Alabama on a number of criteria. I also provide these same comparisons for the twenty states listed in Section VI of this report. In analyzing disparity rates, I collected data from government agencies on a number of socio-demographic measures including educational attainment, food stamps, median household income, per capita income, the poverty rate, home ownership rates, unemployment rates, and infant mortality rates. For each of these factors I calculate a difference measure in order to determine if a disparity rate between whites and blacks is present (see Appendix B for a list of data sources). Data on Alabama is provided for each factor as a point of comparison. The key question being examined, however, is not whether disparity rates in Alabama are higher or lower than the comparison states, but whether the same pattern of black-white disparities also exists in other states.

### **A. Education**

Table 13 below compares educational attainment rates for whites and blacks on two metrics: the percentage of the population with at least a high school degree (or equivalent) and the percentage of the population with a college degree or higher. The table also provides the arithmetic difference between the white and black percentages, with a positive difference evidence of a racial disparity on that factor. For example, in Alabama 87.7% of whites have a high school degree compared to 81.6% of blacks—a difference of 6.1. The remainder of the table lists these same values for the twenty comparison states. There is a positive disparity on this measure for all twenty of the comparison states. The mean difference (excluding Alabama) in the disparity measure is 6.8-points.

The second part of Table 13 examines differences based on the percentage of the whites and blacks who have obtained a bachelor's degree. In Alabama there is a 10.3-point difference between the white and black populations on this measure. The mean difference measure for the comparison states is 13.9.

In summary, for both levels of educational achievement analyzed there is a positive disparity difference for all twenty states, as well as Alabama.

Table 13. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Educational Achievement Rates, 2017

State	High School or Equivalent			B.S. or Higher		
	White	Black	Difference	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	87.7%	81.6%	6.1	27.2%	16.9%	10.3
Arkansas	88.3%	82.1%	6.2	23.8%	14.8%	9.0
Connecticut	94.0%	86.0%	8.0	42.9%	21.0%	22.0
Delaware	92.1%	87.8%	4.3	33.1%	22.2%	10.8
Florida	92.4%	82.0%	10.4	32.0%	18.1%	13.9
Georgia	89.9%	85.4%	4.5	33.7%	22.6%	11.0
Illinois	93.7%	85.7%	8.0	37.4%	20.8%	16.6
Louisiana	88.2%	78.3%	9.9	27.4%	14.8%	12.6
Maryland	93.2%	89.7%	3.5	43.9%	28.5%	15.4
Michigan	92.0%	85.0%	7.0	29.2%	17.0%	12.3
Mississippi	87.3%	77.9%	9.4	25.0%	14.9%	10.1
Missouri	90.5%	85.4%	5.1	29.2%	17.7%	11.5
New Jersey	93.7%	87.4%	6.3	42.1%	23.0%	19.1
New York	92.9%	83.0%	9.8	41.5%	23.2%	18.3
North Carolina	90.7%	84.3%	6.3	33.5%	20.2%	13.3
Ohio	91.0%	84.8%	6.2	28.2%	16.4%	11.8
Pennsylvania	91.9%	85.5%	6.4	31.5%	17.9%	13.6
South Carolina	90.1%	81.0%	9.1	31.8%	15.3%	16.5
Tennessee	88.1%	84.8%	3.3	27.4%	19.2%	8.1
Texas	93.5%	88.5%	5.0	37.3%	23.2%	14.2
Virginia	92.0%	84.9%	7.1	40.9%	23.3%	17.6
Average	91.3%	84.5%	6.8	33.6%	19.7%	13.9

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2017 ACS (5-year)

## B. Food Stamps

The next table (Table 14) displays the proportion a state's population, by race, who are receiving food stamps. In this case a negative difference measure is indicative of a lower percentage of whites on food stamps compared to blacks. In Alabama, 9.6% of whites receive food stamps versus 29.1% of blacks, producing a difference of -19.5. The difference measures for the group of twenty comparison states are also negative. The mean difference measure is -19.0.

Table 14. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Households Receiving Food Stamps, 2017

State	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	9.6%	29.1%	-19.5
Arkansas	10.5%	28.4%	-17.9
Connecticut	7.2%	28.2%	-21.0
Delaware	8.0%	22.6%	-14.6
Florida	8.3%	28.7%	-20.4
Georgia	8.8%	25.4%	-16.6
Illinois	8.0%	33.4%	-25.4
Louisiana	9.1%	30.8%	-21.7
Maryland	6.4%	19.6%	-13.2
Michigan	11.0%	35.8%	-24.8
Mississippi	9.4%	30.6%	-21.2
Missouri	9.7%	28.9%	-19.2
New Jersey	4.5%	19.7%	-15.2
New York	8.7%	28.0%	-19.3
North Carolina	8.8%	27.6%	-18.8
Ohio	10.9%	33.4%	-22.5
Pennsylvania	9.3%	32.5%	-23.2
South Carolina	8.5%	28.1%	-19.6
Tennessee	12.6%	29.3%	-16.7
Texas	6.2%	21.8%	-15.7
Virginia	6.2%	19.4%	-13.1
Average	8.6%	27.6%	-19.0

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2017 ACS (5-year)

### C. Median Household Income

Table 15 displays median household income (MHHI) levels by race. For this table, a positive value in the difference column indicates that the median household income value for whites is greater than that for blacks. In Alabama, the median household income for whites is \$53,375 compared to \$31,183 for blacks, producing a difference of \$22,192. For all twenty comparison states there is a positive difference measure, indicating that white MHHI is greater than black MHHI. The mean difference for these states is \$25,480.

Table 15. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Median Household Income Levels, 2017

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	\$53,375	\$31,183	\$22,192
Arkansas	\$48,154	\$29,299	\$18,855
Connecticut	\$83,780	\$45,972	\$37,808
Delaware	\$68,350	\$48,850	\$19,500
Florida	\$56,032	\$37,280	\$18,752
Georgia	\$61,880	\$40,112	\$21,768
Illinois	\$68,205	\$35,572	\$32,633
Louisiana	\$57,642	\$28,743	\$28,899
Maryland	\$88,821	\$62,827	\$25,994
Michigan	\$56,944	\$32,163	\$24,781
Mississippi	\$52,377	\$28,347	\$24,030
Missouri	\$54,607	\$34,948	\$19,659
New Jersey	\$87,328	\$48,978	\$38,350
New York	\$72,704	\$43,997	\$28,707
North Carolina	\$56,796	\$35,690	\$21,106
Ohio	\$56,652	\$30,575	\$26,077
Pennsylvania	\$61,345	\$35,349	\$25,996
South Carolina	\$56,851	\$31,960	\$24,891
Tennessee	\$52,120	\$35,371	\$16,749
Texas	\$70,282	\$42,401	\$27,881
Virginia	\$74,408	\$47,246	\$27,162
<b>Average</b>	<b>\$64,264</b>	<b>\$38,784</b>	<b>\$ 25,480</b>

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2017 ACS (5-year)

#### D. Per Capita Income

Table 16 examines another income measure—per capita income (PCI). For this analysis, a positive difference measure is an indication that white per capita income is greater than black per capita income. In Alabama, black PCI lags behind that of whites, with the difference being just under \$12,000. The same general pattern is evident when examining the twenty states being used for comparison—a positive difference measure. The average difference figure for these comparison states is \$15,703.

Table 16. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Per Capita Income, 2017

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	\$29,752	\$17,885	\$11,867
Arkansas	\$27,425	\$16,303	\$11,122
Connecticut	\$49,056	\$24,246	\$24,810
Delaware	\$37,544	\$24,543	\$13,001
Florida	\$35,711	\$17,901	\$17,810
Georgia	\$34,608	\$20,336	\$14,272
Illinois	\$39,758	\$20,497	\$19,261
Louisiana	\$32,301	\$16,499	\$15,802
Maryland	\$47,416	\$30,507	\$16,909
Michigan	\$31,822	\$18,793	\$13,029
Mississippi	\$27,973	\$15,113	\$12,860
Missouri	\$30,438	\$19,136	\$11,302
New Jersey	\$47,707	\$25,571	\$22,136
New York	\$44,658	\$23,651	\$21,007
North Carolina	\$33,313	\$19,798	\$13,515
Ohio	\$31,442	\$18,659	\$12,783
Pennsylvania	\$34,725	\$19,796	\$14,929
South Carolina	\$31,783	\$17,745	\$14,038
Tennessee	\$30,134	\$19,248	\$10,886
Texas	\$40,719	\$22,557	\$18,162
Virginia	\$41,702	\$25,285	\$16,417
<b>Average</b>	<b>\$36,512</b>	<b>\$20,809</b>	<b>\$15,703</b>

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2017 ACS (5-year)

### E. Poverty Rate

A comparison of the percentage of the population falling below the poverty level is found in Table 17. In Alabama, the Census estimates that 12.7% of the white population is below the poverty line, compared with 29.1% of the black population. The negative difference calculation is an indication that a greater percentage of blacks in Alabama are living in poverty compared to whites. This same finding is also evident for the twenty comparison states, each of which has a negative difference measure. The mean difference for this group of states is -15.1.

Table 17. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Poverty Rates, 2017

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	12.7%	29.1%	-16.4
Arkansas	14.1%	31.9%	-17.8
Connecticut	5.9%	18.6%	-12.7
Delaware	8.1%	18.8%	-10.7
Florida	10.9%	24.8%	-13.9
Georgia	11.1%	24.4%	-13.2
Illinois	8.9%	28.6%	-19.7
Louisiana	12.1%	32.9%	-20.8
Maryland	6.6%	14.1%	-7.5
Michigan	11.9%	31.5%	-19.7
Mississippi	13.0%	33.8%	-20.7
Missouri	12.1%	26.7%	-14.6
New Jersey	6.3%	19.2%	-12.9
New York	9.8%	22.5%	-12.7
North Carolina	11.1%	24.9%	-13.8
Ohio	11.5%	32.0%	-20.5
Pennsylvania	9.4%	27.6%	-18.2
South Carolina	11.2%	26.7%	-15.5
Tennessee	13.3%	27.1%	-13.7
Texas	8.8%	21.4%	-12.6
Virginia	8.5%	19.4%	-11.0
Average	10.2%	25.3%	-15.1

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2017 ACS (5-year)

## F. Home Ownership

Rates of home ownership, by race, are compared in Table 18. For Alabama, 76.3% of the white population are home owners, compared with 50.9% of blacks. The positive difference measure of 25.4 indicates that the rate of home ownership for whites is greater than the rate of home ownership for blacks. This difference measure is also positive for the twenty comparison states, evidence of racial disparity in home ownership rates. The mean difference across the comparison states is 30.1.

Table 18. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Home Ownership Rates, 2017

State	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	76.3%	50.9%	25.4
Arkansas	71.5%	43.2%	28.3
Connecticut	76.2%	39.1%	37.1
Delaware	79.5%	53.0%	26.5
Florida	73.5%	44.4%	29.1
Georgia	73.4%	46.9%	26.5
Illinois	74.5%	38.8%	35.7
Louisiana	75.4%	47.6%	27.8
Maryland	76.8%	51.1%	25.7
Michigan	77.3%	41.9%	35.4
Mississippi	77.3%	54.2%	23.1
Missouri	72.0%	38.5%	33.5
New Jersey	76.9%	38.9%	38.0
New York	66.9%	31.4%	35.5
North Carolina	73.0%	45.8%	27.2
Ohio	71.9%	36.1%	35.8
Pennsylvania	74.4%	43.6%	30.8
South Carolina	76.2%	53.0%	23.2
Tennessee	72.4%	44.0%	28.4
Texas	70.5%	41.4%	29.1
Virginia	73.2%	47.8%	25.4
Average	74.1%	44.0%	30.1

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2017 ACS (5-year)

## G. Unemployment Rates

Unemployment rates by state and racial category are provided in Table 19. In Alabama, the 2017 unemployment rate for whites was 3.2%, compared to 7.5% for blacks. In this case, the difference between these two figures is -4.3, an indication that the black unemployment rate is higher than the white unemployment rate. For the twenty states used as comparisons to Alabama, the difference measure is also negative. The average difference across the comparison states is -3.7.

Table 19. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Unemployment Rates, 2017

State	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	3.2%	7.5%	-4.3
Arkansas	3.3%	5.3%	-2.0
Connecticut	4.8%	6.0%	-1.2
Delaware	3.7%	8.3%	-4.6
Florida	3.5%	6.8%	-3.3
Georgia	3.3%	7.6%	-4.3
Illinois	4.3%	8.9%	-4.6
Louisiana	3.4%	8.9%	-5.5
Maryland	3.2%	6.1%	-2.9
Michigan	4.0%	9.5%	-5.5
Mississippi	3.7%	7.3%	-3.6
Missouri	3.4%	6.3%	-2.9
New Jersey	3.8%	7.9%	-4.1
New York	4.0%	7.6%	-3.6
North Carolina	3.7%	7.1%	-3.4
Ohio	4.4%	9.1%	-4.7
Pennsylvania	4.3%	8.4%	-4.1
South Carolina	3.1%	8.2%	-5.1
Tennessee	3.3%	6.1%	-2.8
Texas	3.9%	6.9%	-3.0
Virginia	3.0%	6.2%	-3.2
Average	3.7%	7.4%	-3.7

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

## H. Infant Mortality

The final factor analyzed is infant mortality (see Table 21), calculated as infant deaths per 1,000 births. In Alabama, the infant mortality rate for whites is 6.63. The black infant mortality rate is 14.51. The difference between these two rates is -7.88, an indication that the black infant mortality rate is higher than the rate for whites. For the twenty comparison states, the difference measures are all negative as well. The mean difference for this group of states is -6.42.

Table 21. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Infant Mortality Rates, 2016

State	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	6.63	14.51	-7.88
Arkansas	7.48	12.61	-5.13
Connecticut	2.92	11.68	-8.76
Delaware	5.91	12.53	-6.62
Florida	4.7	11.01	-6.31
Georgia	5.4	11.33	-5.93
Illinois	4.69	12.82	-8.13
Louisiana	5.26	12.42	-7.16
Maryland	4.27	10.41	-6.14
Michigan	4.91	12.42	-7.51
Mississippi	7.01	11.2	-4.19
Missouri	5.54	12.7	-7.16
New Jersey	2.62	9.67	-7.05
New York	3.74	8.64	-4.90
North Carolina	5.44	12.88	-7.44
Ohio	6.04	13.71	-7.67
Pennsylvania	4.65	11.28	-6.63
South Carolina	5.43	10.84	-5.41
Tennessee	6.33	11.75	-5.42
Texas	4.84	10.43	-5.59
Virginia	4.8	10.1	-5.30
<b>Average</b>	<b>5.10</b>	<b>11.52</b>	<b>-6.42</b>

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: Centers for Disease Control.

## **I. Summary of Findings**

For the nine measures analyzed, there is evidence of a racial disparity in Alabama. This same pattern of disparity also exists for the twenty states used for purpose of comparison. In fact, for the 180 total cases analyzed for this group of states, the same pattern of disparity between blacks and whites is also present.

### **VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

The plaintiffs in this matter argue that Alabama should have drawn an additional black opportunity-to-elect district in Alabama. There is some question, however, if two majority BVAP districts can be created under the present districting scheme. In addition, the hypothetical maps presented by the plaintiffs ignore the concept of core retention (in the case of District 2) and rely on the distinctive movement of racial groups to achieve this goal (for both Districts 2 and 7).

While plaintiffs have proffered hypothetical plans, there is no effort undertaken to demonstrate that the two opportunity-to-elect districts could actually function in such a manner. Such would seem especially pertinent if plaintiffs' expert is correct concerning the extremely high levels of racially polarized voting documented by the plaintiffs and the fact that black turnout rates typically lag behind those of white voters. Even more perplexing is the lack of any illustrative plan (and accompanying functional analysis) for the post-2020 time period, where Alabama could drop from seven to six congressional districts.

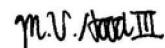
Alabama's seventh congressional district has effectively functioned as a black opportunity-to-elect district since 1992. The attempt to create a second majority BVAP district in the state could produce the unintended consequence whereby Alabama moves not from one to two, but from one to zero black opportunity-to-elect districts.

The second half of my report found that black voting patterns, both in Alabama and in other states, display an almost monolithic pattern of high support for Democratic candidates across various officeholding levels. Second, black-white disparities on a number of socioeconomic factors that are present in Alabama are also ubiquitous in other states as well.

**IX. DECLARATION**

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed on April 22, 2019.



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## Appendix A: Data Sources

### **Voting Data:**

National Exit Polls, 2008-2018.

- 2008: [www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/](http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/)
- 2010: [www.nytimes.com/elections/2010/results/senate.html](http://www.nytimes.com/elections/2010/results/senate.html)
- 2012: [www.cnn.com/election/2012/results/race/president/](http://www.cnn.com/election/2012/results/race/president/)
- 2014: [www.cnn.com/election/2014/results/exit-polls](http://www.cnn.com/election/2014/results/exit-polls)
- 2016: [www.cnn.com/election/2016/results/exit-polls](http://www.cnn.com/election/2016/results/exit-polls)
- 2018: [www.cnn.com/election/2018/exit-polls](http://www.cnn.com/election/2018/exit-polls)

Cooperative Congressional Election Studies, 2008-2018

<https://cces.gov.harvard.edu/>

### **Socio-Economic Comparisons:**

#### Educational Attainment

U.S. Census Bureau. 2017 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Tables C15002H, C15002B.

#### Food Stamps

U.S. Census Bureau. 2017 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Tables B22005H, B22005B.

#### Median Household Income.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2017 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Tables B19013H, B19013B.

#### Per Capita Income

U.S. Census Bureau. 2017 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Tables B19301H, B19301B.

#### Poverty Rate

U.S. Census Bureau. 2017 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Tables B17001H, B17001B.

#### Home Ownership

U.S. Census Bureau. 2017 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Tables B25003H, B25003B.

#### Unemployment Rates

Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2017. "Employment Status of the Civilian Noninstitutional Population in States by Sex, Race, Hispanic or Latino Ethnicity, and Intermediate Age." (<https://www.bls.gov/lau/table14afull17.htm>).

#### Infant Mortality

Centers for Disease Control. CDC Wonder Database (<https://wonder.cdc.gov/>).

## Appendix B: Detailed Vote Data

Table A. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2008

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama	98%		90%	
Arkansas	95%			
Connecticut	93%			
Delaware	99%	97%	97%	
Florida	96%			
Georgia	98%		93%	
Illinois	96%		95%	
Louisiana	94%		96%	
Maryland	94%			
Michigan	97%		94%	
Mississippi	98%		94%	92% <sup>34</sup>
Missouri	93%	90%		
New Jersey	92%		87%	
New York	100%			
North Carolina	95%	95%	96%	
Ohio	97%			
Pennsylvania	95%			
South Carolina	96%		87%	
Tennessee	94%		72%	
Texas	98%		89%	
Virginia	92%		93%	
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>94%</b>			

Source: 2008 National Exit Poll

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<sup>34</sup>Special Election.

Table B. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2010

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama		
Arkansas		
Connecticut		
Delaware		93%
Florida	92%	76%
Georgia		
Illinois	90%	94%
Louisiana		
Maryland		
Michigan		
Mississippi		
Missouri		92%
New Jersey		
New York	93%	94%
North Carolina		
Ohio	90%	85%
Pennsylvania	91%	92%
South Carolina		
Tennessee		
Texas		
Virginia		
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>90%</b>	

Source: 2010 National Exit Poll

Table C. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2012

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama	95%		
Arkansas			
Connecticut	93%		88%
Delaware			
Florida	95%		90%
Georgia			
Illinois	96%		
Louisiana			
Maryland	97%		
Michigan	97%		87%
Mississippi	96%		88%
Missouri	94%	92%	94%
New Jersey	96%		96%
New York	94%		94%
North Carolina	96%	85%	
Ohio	96%		95%
Pennsylvania	93%		91%
South Carolina			
Tennessee			
Texas			
Virginia	93%		92%
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>93%</b>		

Source: 2012 National Exit Poll

Table D. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2014

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama		
Arkansas	90%	97%
Connecticut		
Delaware		
Florida	85%	
Georgia		92%
Illinois	93%	95%
Louisiana		94%
Maryland		
Michigan	89%	90%
Mississippi		92%
Missouri		
New Jersey		
New York		
North Carolina		96%
Ohio	69%	
Pennsylvania	92%	
South Carolina	92%	89%
Tennessee		
Texas	92%	87%
Virginia		90%
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>90%</b>	

Source: 2014 National Exit Poll

Table E. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2016

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama			
Arkansas			
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	84%		80%
Georgia	89%		79%
Illinois	87%		87%
Louisiana			
Maryland			
Michigan	92%		
Mississippi			
Missouri	90%	92%	90%
New Jersey	89%		
New York	92%		91%
North Carolina	89%	88%	90%
Ohio	88%		79%
Pennsylvania	92%		90%
South Carolina	94%		90%
Tennessee			
Texas	84%		
Virginia	88%		
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>88%</b>		

Source: 2016 National Exit Poll

Table F. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2018

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama			
Arkansas			
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	86%	90%	
Georgia	93%		
Illinois			
Louisiana			
Maryland			
Michigan	90%	90%	
Mississippi		88%	91% <sup>35</sup>
Missouri		91%	
New Jersey		90%	
New York	91%	90%	
North Carolina			
Ohio	84%	89%	
Pennsylvania	91%	91%	
South Carolina			
Tennessee	85%	85%	
Texas	82%	89%	
Virginia		91%	
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>89%</b>		

Source: 2018 National Exit Poll

<sup>35</sup>Special Election.

Table G. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2008

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
Arkansas				
Connecticut				
Delaware				
Florida	93.2%			91.8%
Georgia	97.2%		97.1%	90.2%
Illinois	97.8%		97.7%	96.4%
Louisiana	97.7%		94.2%	
Maryland	98.9%			97.9%
Michigan	97.2%		97.2%	93.6%
Mississippi				
Missouri				
New Jersey	98.5%		98.5%	93.6%
New York	97.3%			95.7%
North Carolina	99.1%	94.6%	98.2%	93.5%
Ohio	92.7%			92.0%
Pennsylvania	96.7%			94.2%
South Carolina			77.2%	97.4%
Tennessee				
Texas	97.8%		92.9%	90.1%
Virginia	92.8%		90.1%	83.4%
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>94.6%</b>			

Source: CCES.

Table H. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2010

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
Arkansas			
Connecticut	97.8%	97.4%	
Delaware			
Florida	89.5%	87.3%	84.5%
Georgia	92.4%	91.4%	87.1%
Illinois	95.7%	95.7%	97.0%
Louisiana		90.8%	79.9%
Maryland	92.3%	92.8%	93.4%
Michigan	93.7%	95.1%	95.2%
Mississippi			94.9%
Missouri		95.1%	95.3%
New Jersey			98.3%
New York	98.0%	95.6%	93.9%
North Carolina		93.9%	95.0%
Ohio	85.6%	89.4%	91.7%
Pennsylvania	89.5%	96.5%	95.2%
South Carolina	89.2%	82.8%	87.0%
Tennessee	89.9%		97.0%
Texas	91.9%		83.3%
Virginia			82.4%
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>91.9%</b>		

Source: CCES.

Table I. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2012

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
Arkansas	95.3%			
Connecticut				
Delaware				
Florida	86.6%		90.9%	89.5%
Georgia	93.7%			93.4%
Illinois	94.2%			94.7%
Louisiana	96.2%			57.7%
Maryland	95.6%		97.2%	98.2%
Michigan	97.8%		99.0%	94.6%
Mississippi	92.5%		92.1%	96.6%
Missouri	90.1%	98.9%	99.1%	98.9%
New Jersey	96.6%		98.2%	98.0%
New York	96.4%		97.0%	93.7%
North Carolina	94.8%	91.0%		94.6%
Ohio	90.1%		92.6%	89.0%
Pennsylvania	98.8%		98.8%	97.9%
South Carolina	93.9%			90.0%
Tennessee	96.4%		94.7%	95.3%
Texas	97.2%		89.0%	94.8%
Virginia	92.4%		91.4%	90.1%
<b>Mean-All Races</b>	<b>93.8%</b>			

Source: CCES.

Table J. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2014

<b>State</b>	<b>Gov.</b>	<b>Sen.</b>	<b>House</b>
Arkansas	93.1%	93.4%	93.2%
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	87.5%		78.9%
Georgia	90.1%	97.1%	94.9%
Illinois	88.3%	96.2%	95.4%
Louisiana		98.5%	94.4%
Maryland	82.7%		90.2%
Michigan	82.5%	88.7%	90.0%
Mississippi		93.6%	94.7%
Missouri			85.3%
New Jersey		96.9%	94.9%
New York	92.5%		97.1%
North Carolina		95.6%	87.4%
Ohio	73.6%		83.9%
Pennsylvania	97.2%		96.0%
South Carolina	89.4%	81.8%	82.3%
Tennessee	69.8%	78.4%	74.6%
Texas	86.0%	81.3%	83.0%
Virginia		92.4%	88.0%
<b>Mean-All Races 88.8%</b>			

Source: CCES.

Table K. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2016

<b>State</b>	<b>Pres.</b>	<b>Gov.</b>	<b>Sen.</b>	<b>House</b>
Arkansas	97.5%		82.5%	65.7%
Connecticut				
Delaware		95.8%		
Florida	94.3%		88.3%	93.5%
Georgia	93.3%		91.8%	84.5%
Illinois	93.1%		98.5%	94.1%
Louisiana	92.4%		91.5%	56.0%
Maryland	91.0%		95.3%	88.5%
Michigan	96.6%			94.9%
Mississippi	86.5%			81.6%
Missouri	92.4%	89.7%	92.7%	95.8%
New Jersey	97.0%			95.9%
New York	93.2%		94.8%	89.8%
North Carolina	92.0%	86.4%	88.6%	87.9%
Ohio	88.9%		83.3%	87.4%
Pennsylvania	95.4%		89.6%	94.1%
South Carolina	89.0%		62.9%	67.1%
Tennessee	91.5%			91.9%
Texas	89.8%			85.8%
Virginia	91.5%			88.4%
<b>Mean-All Races</b>		89.0%		

Source: CCES.

Curriculum Vitae  
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**Academic Positions**

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University of Georgia  
Professor, 2013-present  
Director, SPIA Survey Research Center, 2016-present.  
Director of Graduate Studies, 2011-2016.  
Associate Professor, 2005-2013  
Assistant Professor, 1999-2005.  
Texas Tech University  
Visiting Assistant Professor, 1997-1999.

**Education**

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Ph.D.	Political Science	Texas Tech University	1997
M.A.	Political Science	Baylor University	1993
B.S.	Political Science	Texas A&M University	1991

**Peer-Reviewed Books**

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*The Rational Southerner: Black Mobilization, Republican Growth, and the Partisan Transformation of the American South.* 2012. New York: Oxford University Press.  
(Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).  
[Softcover version in 2014 with new Epilogue]

**Peer-Reviewed Publications**

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“Why Georgia, Why? Peach State Residents’ Perceptions of Voting-Related Improprieties and their Impact on the 2018 Gubernatorial Election.” Forthcoming 2019. *Social Science Quarterly* (with Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Palmetto Postmortem: Examining the Effects of the South Carolina Voter Identification Statute.” 2019. *Political Research Quarterly* (with Scott E. Buchanan, co-author).

“Contagious Republicanism in Louisiana, 1966-2008.” 2018. *Political Geography* 66(Sept.): 1-13. (with Jamie Monogan, co-author).

“The Comeback Kid: Donald Trump on Election Day in 2016.” 2019. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 52(2): 239-242. (with Seth C. McKee and Daniel A. Smith, co-authors).

“Election Daze: Mode of Voting and Voter Preferences in the 2016 Presidential Election.” 2017-2018. *Florida Political Chronicle* 25(2): 123-141. (with Seth C. McKee and Daniel A. Smith, co-authors).

“Out of Step and Out of Touch: The Matter with Kansas in the 2014 Midterm.” 2017. *The Forum* 15(2): 291-312. (Seth C. McKee and Ian Ostrander, co-authors).

“From Legal Theory to Practical Application: A How-To for Performing Vote Dilution Analyses.” 2018. *Social Science Quarterly* 99(2): 536-552. (Peter A. Morrison and Thomas M. Bryan, co-authors).

“Race, Class, Religion and the Southern Party System: A Field Report from Dixie.” 2016. *The Forum* 14(1): 83-96.

“Black Votes Count: The 2014 Republican Senate Nomination in Mississippi.” 2017. *Social Science Quarterly* 98(1): 89-106. (Seth C. McKee, coauthor).

“Sunshine State Dilemma: Voting for the 2014 Governor of Florida.” 2015. *Electoral Studies* 40: 293-299. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Tea Leaves and Southern Politics: Explaining Tea Party Support Among Southern Republicans.” 2015. *Social Science Quarterly* 96(4): 923-940. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).

“True Colors: White Conservative Support for Minority Republican Candidates.” 2015. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 79(1): 28-52. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Split-Ticket Voting in the 2013 Virginia Elections.” 2015. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 48(1):107-114. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).

“The Damnedest Mess: An Empirical Evaluation of the 1966 Georgia Gubernatorial Election.” 2014. *Social Science Quarterly* 96(1):104-118. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“Candidates, Competition, and the Partisan Press: Congressional Elections in the Early Antebellum Era.” 2014. *American Politics Research* 42(5):670-783. (Jamie L. Carson, co-author).

[Winner of the 2014 Hahn-Sigelman Prize]

“Strategic Voting in a U.S. Senate Election.” 2013. *Political Behavior* 35(4):729-751. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Unwelcome Constituents: Redistricting and Countervailing Partisan Tides.” 2013. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(2):203-224. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“The Tea Party, Sarah Palin, and the 2010 Congressional Elections: The Aftermath of the Election of Barack Obama.” 2012. *Social Science Quarterly* 93(5):1424-1435. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“Much Ado About Nothing?: An Empirical Assessment of the Georgia Voter Identification Statute.” 2012. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12(4):394-314. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“Achieving Validation: Barack Obama and Black Turnout in 2008.” 2012. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12:3-22. (Seth C. McKee and David Hill, co-authors).

“They Just Don’t Vote Like They Used To: A Methodology to Empirically Assess Election Fraud.” 2012. *Social Science Quarterly* 93:76-94. (William Gillespie, co-author).

“An Examination of Efforts to Encourage the Incidence of Early In-Person Voting in Georgia, 2008.” 2011. *Election Law Journal* 10:103-113. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“What Made Carolina Blue? In-migration and the 2008 North Carolina Presidential Vote.” 2010. *American Politics Research* 38:266-302. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Stranger Danger: Redistricting, Incumbent Recognition, and Vote Choice.” 2010. *Social Science Quarterly* 91:344-358. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Trying to Thread the Needle: The Effects of Redistricting in a Georgia Congressional District.” 2009. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 42:679-687. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Citizen, Defend Thyself: An Individual-Level Analysis of Concealed-Weapon Permit Holders.” 2009. *Criminal Justice Studies* 22:73-89. (Grant W. Neeley, co-author).

“Two Sides of the Same Coin?: Employing Granger Causality Tests in a Time Series Cross-Section Framework.” 2008. *Political Analysis* 16:324-344. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).

“Worth a Thousand Words? : An Analysis of Georgia’s Voter Identification Statute.” 2008. *American Politics Research* 36:555-579. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“Gerrymandering on Georgia’s Mind: The Effects of Redistricting on Vote Choice in the 2006 Midterm Election.” 2008. *Social Science Quarterly* 89:60-77 (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Examining Methods for Identifying Latino Voters.” 2007. *Election Law Journal* 6:202-208. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“A Mile-Wide Gap: The Evolution of Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South.” 2006. *Social Science Quarterly* 87:1117-1135. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“Punch Cards, Jim Crow, and Al Gore: Explaining Voter Trust in the Electoral System in Georgia, 2000.” 2005. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5:283-294. (Charles S. Bullock, III and Richard Clark, co-authors).

“When Southern Symbolism Meets the Pork Barrel: Opportunity for Executive Leadership.” 2005. *Social Science Quarterly* 86:69-86. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“The Reintroduction of the *Elephas maximus* to the Southern United States: The Rise of Republican State Parties, 1960-2000.” 2004. *American Politics Research* 31:68-101. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).

“One Person, [No Vote; One Vote; Two Votes...]: Voting Methods, Ballot Types, and Undervote Frequency in the 2000 Presidential Election.” 2002. *Social Science Quarterly* 83:981-993. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).

“On the Prospect of Linking Religious Right Identification with Political Behavior: Panacea or Snipe Hunt?” 2002. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41:697-710. (Mark C. Smith, co-author).

“The Key Issue: Constituency Effects and Southern Senators’ Roll-Call Voting on Civil Rights.” 2001. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26: 599-621. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).

“Packin’ in the Hood?: Examining Assumptions Underlying Concealed-Handgun Research.” 2000. *Social Science Quarterly* 81:523-537. (Grant Neeley, co-author).

“Brother, Can You Spare a Dime? Racial/Ethnic Context and the Anglo Vote on Proposition 187.” 2000. *Social Science Quarterly* 81:194-206. (Irwin Morris, co-author).

“Penny Pinching or Politics? The Line-Item Veto and Military Construction Appropriations.” 1999. *Political Research Quarterly* 52:753-766. (Irwin Morris and Grant Neeley, co-authors).

“Of Byrds[s] and Bumpers: Using Democratic Senators to Analyze Political Change in the South, 1960-1995.” 1999. *American Journal of Political Science* 43:465-487. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).

“Bugs in the NRC’s Doctoral Program Evaluation Data: From Mites to Hissing Cockroaches.” 1998. *PS* 31:829-835. (Nelson Dometrius, Quentin Kidd, and Kurt Shirkey, co-authors).

“Boll Weevils and Roll-Call Voting: A Study in Time and Space.” 1998. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23:245-269. (Irwin Morris, co-author).

“Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor,...But Make Sure They Have a Green Card: The Effects of Documented and Undocumented Migrant Context on Anglo Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1998. *Political Behavior* 20:1-16. (Irwin Morris, co-author).

“¡Quedate o Vente!: Uncovering the Determinants of Hispanic Public Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1997. *Political Research Quarterly* 50:627-647. (Irwin Morris and Kurt Shirkey, co-authors).

“¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Context, Attitudes, and Anglo Public Opinion toward Immigration.” 1997. *Social Science Quarterly* 78: 309-323. (Irwin Morris, co-author).

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### **Invited Publications**

“Race and the Ideological Transformation of the Democratic Party: Evidence from the Bayou State.” 2005. *American Review of Politics* 25:67-78.

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### **Book Chapters**

“Texas: Big Red Rides On.” 2017. In *The New Politics of the Old South, 6<sup>th</sup> ed.*, Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“The Participatory Consequences of Florida Redistricting.” 2015. In *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State*, Seth C. McKee, editor. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press. (Danny Hayes and Seth C. McKee, co-authors).

“Texas: Political Change by the Numbers.” 2014. In *The New Politics of the Old South, 5<sup>th</sup> ed.*, Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“The Republican Party in the South.” 2012. In *Oxford Handbook of Southern Politics*, Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Oxford University Press. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).

“The Reintroduction of the *Elephas maximus* to the Southern United States: The Rise of Republican State Parties, 1960-2000.” 2010. In *Controversies in Voting Behavior, 5<sup>th</sup> ed.*, David Kimball, Richard G. Niemi, and Herbert F. Weisberg, editors. Washington, DC: CQ Press. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).

[Reprint of 2004 *APR* article with Epilogue containing updated analysis and other original material.]

“The Texas Governors.” 1997. In *Texas Policy and Politics*, Mark Somma, editor. Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster.

### **Book Reviews**

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*The Resilience of Southern Identity: Why the South Still Matters in the Minds of Its People.*  
2018. Reviewed for *The Journal of Southern History*.

### **Other Publications**

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“Provisionally Admitted College Students: Do They Belong in a Research University?” 1998. In *Developmental Education: Preparing Successful College Students*, Jeanne Higbee and Patricia L. Dwinell, editors. Columbia, SC: National Resource Center for the First-Year Experience & Students in Transition (Don Garnett, co-author).

NES Technical Report No. 52. 1994. “The Reliability, Validity, and Scalability of the Indicators of Gender Role Beliefs and Feminism in the 1992 American National Election Study: A Report to the ANES Board of Overseers.” (Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, Douglas R. Davenport, Terry L. Gilmour, William R. Moore, Kurt Shirkey, co-authors).

### **Grant-funded Research (UGA)**

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Co-Principal Investigator. “An Examination of Non-Precinct Voting in the State of Georgia.” Budget: \$47,000. October 2008-July 2009. (with Charles S. Bullock, III). Funded by the Pew Charitable Trust.

Co-Principal Investigator. “The Best Judges Money Can Buy?: Campaign Contributions and the Texas Supreme Court.” (SES-0615838) Total Budget: \$166,576; UGA Share: \$69,974. September 2006-August 2008. (with Craig F. Emmert). Funded by the National Science Foundation. REU Supplemental Award (2008-2009): \$6,300.

Principal Investigator. “Payola Justice or Just Plain ‘Ole Politics Texas-Style?: Campaign Finance and the Texas Supreme Court.” \$5,175. January 2000-Januray 2001. Funded by the University of Georgia Research Foundation, Inc.

### **Curriculum Grants (UGA)**

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Learning Technology Grant: “Converting Ideas Into Effective Action: An Interactive Computer and Classroom Simulation for the Teaching of American Politics.” \$40,000. January-December 2004. (with Loch Johnson). Funded by the Office of Instructional Support and Technology, University of Georgia.

## **Dissertation**

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“Capturing Bubba’s Heart and Mind: Group Consciousness and the Political Identification of Southern White Males, 1972-1994.”

Chair: Professor Sue Tolleson-Rinehart

## **Papers and Activities at Professional Meetings**

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“The Geography of Latino Growth in the American South.” 2018. (with Seth C. McKee). State Politics and Policy Conference. State College, PA.

“A History and Analysis of Black Representation in Southern State Legislatures.” 2018. (with Charles S. Bullock, III, William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, Adam S. Myers, and Daniel A. Smith). Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

Discussant. Panel titled “Southern Distinctiveness?” 2018. The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

Roundtable Participant. Panel titled “The 2018 Elections.” 2018. The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Still Fighting the Civil War?: Southern Opinions on the Confederate Legacy.” 2018. (with Christopher A. Cooper, Scott H. Huffmon, Quentin Kidd, H. Gibbs Knotts, and Seth C. McKee). The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Tracking Hispanic Growth in the American South.” 2018. (with Seth C. McKee). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“An Assessment of Online Voter Registration in Georgia.” 2017. (with Greg Hawrelak and Colin Phillips). Presented at the Annual Meeting of Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration. Portland, Oregon.

Moderator. Panel titled “What Happens Next.” 2017. The Annual Meeting of Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration. Portland, Oregon.

“Election Daze: Time of Vote, Mode of Voting, and Voter Preferences in the 2016 Presidential Election.” 2017. (with Seth C. McKee and Dan Smith). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the State Politics and Policy Conference. St. Louis, MO.

“Palmetto Postmortem: Examining the Effects of the South Carolina Voter Identification Statute.” 2017. (with Scott E. Buchanan). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

Panel Chair and Presenter. Panel titled “Assessing the 2016 Presidential Election.” 2017. UGA Elections Conference. Athens, GA.

Roundtable Discussant. Panel titled “Author Meets Critics: Robert Mickey's Paths Out of Dixie.” 2017. The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“Out of Step and Out of Touch: The Matter with Kansas in the 2014 Midterm Election.” (with Seth C. McKee and Ian Ostrander). 2016. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. San Juan, Puerto Rico.

“Contagious Republicanism in North Carolina and Louisiana, 1966-2008.”(with Jamie Monogan). 2016. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“The Behavioral Implications of Racial Resentment in the South: The Intervening Influence of Party.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2016. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

Discussant. Panel titled “Partisan Realignment in the South.” 2016. The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Electoral Implications of Racial Resentment in the South: The Influence of Party.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2016. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA.

“Racial Resentment and the Tea Party: Taking Regional Differences Seriously.” (with Quentin Kidd an Irwin L. Morris). 2015. Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco, CA.

“Race and the Tea Party in the Palmetto State: Tim Scott, Nikki Haley, Bakari Sellers and the 2014 Elections in South Carolina.” (with Quentin Kidd an Irwin L. Morris). 2015. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

Participant. Roundtable on the 2014 Midterm Elections in the Deep South. Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Split-Ticket Voting in the 2013 Virginia Elections.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2014. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Down-Ticket Voting and Roll-Off in the 2013 Virginia Elections.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2014. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“Tea Leaves and Southern Politics: Explaining Tea Party Support Among Southern Republicans.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2013. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Orlando, FL.

“The Tea Party and the Southern GOP.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2012. Research presented at the Effects of the 2012 Elections Conference. Athens, GA.

“Black Mobilization in the Modern South: When Does Empowerment Matter?” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2012. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“The Legislature Chooses a Governor: Georgia’s 1966 Gubernatorial Election.” (with Charles S. Bullock, III). 2012. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“One-Stop to Victory? North Carolina, Obama, and the 2008 General Election.” (with Justin Bullock, Paul Carlsen, Perry Joiner, and Mark Owens). 2011. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans.

“Redistricting and Turnout in Black and White.” (with Seth C. McKee and Danny Hayes). 2011. Paper presented the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL.

“One-Stop to Victory? North Carolina, Obama, and the 2008 General Election.” (with Justin Bullock, Paul Carlsen, Perry Joiner, Jeni McDermott, and Mark Owens). 2011. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting. Chicago, IL.

“Strategic Voting in the 2010 Florida Senate Election.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2011. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association. Jupiter, FL.

“The Republican Bottleneck: Congressional Emergence Patterns in a Changing South.” (with Christian R. Grose and Seth C. McKee). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“Capturing the Obama Effect: Black Turnout in Presidential Elections.” (with David Hill and Seth C. McKee) 2010. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association. Jacksonville, FL.

“The Republican Bottleneck: Congressional Emergence Patterns in a Changing South.” (with Seth C. McKee and Christian R. Grose). 2010. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Black Mobilization and Republican Growth in the American South: The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same?” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2010. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Unwelcome Constituents: Redistricting and Incumbent Vote Shares.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2010. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA.

“Black Mobilization and Republican Growth in the American South: The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same?” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2010. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA.

“The Impact of Efforts to Increase Early Voting in Georgia, 2008.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2009. Presentation made at the Annual Meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association. Callaway Gardens, GA.

“Encouraging Non-Precinct Voting in Georgia, 2008.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2009. Presentation made at the Time-Shifting The Vote Conference. Reed College, Portland, OR.

“What Made Carolina Blue? In-migration and the 2008 North Carolina Presidential Vote.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2009. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association. Orlando, FL.

“Swimming with the Tide: Redistricting and Voter Choice in the 2006 Midterm.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2009. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“The Effect of the Partisan Press on U.S. House Elections, 1800-1820.” (with Jamie Carson). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the History of Congress Conference. Washington, D.C.

“Backward Mapping: Exploring Questions of Representation via Spatial Analysis of Historical Congressional Districts.” (Michael Crespin). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the History of Congress Conference. Washington, D.C.

“The Effect of the Partisan Press on U.S. House Elections, 1800-1820.” (with Jamie Carson). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“The Rational Southerner: The Local Logic of Partisan Transformation in the South.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2008. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Stranger Danger: The Influence of Redistricting on Candidate Recognition and Vote Choice.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans.

“Backward Mapping: Exploring Questions of Representation via Spatial Analysis of Historical Congressional Districts.” (with Michael Crespin). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Worth a Thousand Words? : An Analysis of Georgia’s Voter Identification Statute.” (with Charles S. Bullock, III). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Albuquerque.

“Gerrymandering on Georgia’s Mind: The Effects of Redistricting on Vote Choice in the 2006 Midterm Election.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of The Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans.

“Personalismo Politics: Partisanship, Presidential Popularity and 21st Century Southern Politics.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia.

“Explaining Soft Money Transfers in State Gubernatorial Elections.” (with William Gillespie and Troy Gibson). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Two Sides of the Same Coin?: A Panel Granger Analysis of Black Electoral Mobilization and GOP Growth in the South, 1960-2004.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South, 2000-2004.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2006. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston.

“Black Mobilization and the Growth of Southern Republicanism: Two Sides of the Same Coin?” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Exploring the Linkage Between Black Turnout and Down-Ticket Challenges to Black Incumbents.” (With Troy M. Gibson). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Race and the Ideological Transformation of the Democratic Party: Evidence from the Bayou State.” 2004. Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston.

“Tracing the Evolution of Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South.” 2004. (Charles S. Bullock, III). Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston.

“Much Ado about Something? Religious Right Status in American Politics.” 2003. (With Mark C. Smith). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Tracking the Flow of Non-Federal Dollars in U. S. Senate Campaigns, 1992-2000.” 2003. (With Janna Deitz and William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“PAC Cash and Votes: Can Money Rent a Vote?” 2002. (With William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Savannah.

“What Can Gubernatorial Elections Teach Us About American Politics?: Exploiting and Underutilized Resource.” 2002. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Boston.

“I Know I Voted, But I’m Not Sure It Got Counted.” 2002. (With Charles S. Bullock, III and Richard Clark). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. New Orleans.

“Race and Southern Gubernatorial Elections: A 50-Year Assessment.” 2002. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Biennial Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston, SC.

“Top-Down or Bottom-Up?: An Integrated Explanation of Two-Party Development in the South, 1960-2000.” 2001. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Cash, Congress, and Trade: Did Campaign Contributions Influence Congressional Support for Most Favored Nation Status in China?” 2001. (With William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. Fort Worth.

“Key 50 Years Later: Understanding the Racial Dynamics of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Southern Politics” 2001. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“The VRA and Beyond: The Political Mobilization of African Americans in the Modern South.” 2001. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco.

“Payola Justice or Just Plain ‘Ole Politics Texas Style?: Campaign Finance and the Texas Supreme Court.” 2001. (With Craig Emmert). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“The VRA and Beyond: The Political Mobilization of African Americans in the Modern South.” 2000. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Where Have All the Republicans Gone? A State-Level Study of Southern Republicanism.” 1999. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Savannah.

“Elephants in Dixie: A State-Level Analysis of the Rise of the Republican Party in the Modern South.” 1999. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Stimulant to Turnout or Merely a Convenience?: Developing an Early Voter Profile.” 1998. (With Quentin Kidd and Grant Neeley). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“The Impact of the Texas Concealed Weapons Law on Crime Rates: A Policy Analysis for the City of Dallas, 1992-1997.” 1998. (With Grant W. Neeley). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Analyzing Anglo Voting on Proposition 187: Does Racial/Ethnic Context Really Matter?” 1997. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Norfolk.

“Capturing Bubba's Heart and Mind: Group Consciousness and the Political Identification of Southern White Males, 1972-1994.” 1997. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Of Byrds[s] and Bumpers: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Study of the Roll-Call Voting Behavior of Democratic Senators from the South, 1960-1995.” 1996. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Pest Control: Southern Politics and the Eradication of the Boll Weevil.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco.

“Fit for the Greater Functions of Politics: Gender, Participation, and Political Knowledge.” 1996. (With Terry Gilmour, Kurt Shirkey, and Sue Tolleson-Rinehart). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Racial Context, Attitudes, and White Public Opinion on Immigration.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“¡Quedate o Vente!: Uncovering the Determinants of Hispanic Public Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris and Kurt Shirkey). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Houston.

“Downs Meets the Boll Weevil: When Southern Democrats Turn Left.” 1995. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Tampa.

“¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Ideological Dispositions of Whites Residing in Heavily Hispanic Areas.” 1995. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Tampa.

Chair. Panel titled “Congress and Interest Groups in Institutional Settings.” 1995. Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Dallas.

“Death of the Boll Weevil?: The Decline of Conservative Democrats in the House.” 1995. (With Kurt Shirkey). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Dallas.

“Capturing Bubba’s Heart and Mind: The Political Identification of Southern White Males.” 1994. (With Sue Tolleson-Rinehart). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

### **Areas of Teaching Competence**

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American Politics: Behavior and Institutions  
Public Policy  
Scope, Methods, Techniques

### **Teaching Experience**

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University of Georgia, 1999-present.  
Graduate Faculty, 2003-present.  
Provisional Graduate Faculty, 2000-2003.  
Distance Education Faculty, 2000-present.

Texas Tech University, 1993-1999.  
Visiting Faculty, 1997-1999.  
Graduate Faculty, 1998-1999.  
Extended Studies Faculty, 1997-1999.  
Teaching Assistant, 1993-1997.

Courses Taught:

Undergraduate:  
American Government and Politics, American Government and Politics (Honors),  
Legislative Process, Introduction to Political Analysis, American Public Policy, Political  
Psychology, Advanced Simulations in American Politics (Honors), Southern Politics,  
Southern Politics (Honors), Survey Research Internship

Graduate:

Election Administration and Related Issues (Election Sciences), Political Parties and Interest  
Groups, Legislative Process, Seminar in American Politics, Southern Politics; Publishing for  
Political Science

### **Editorial Boards**

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*Social Science Quarterly*. Member. 2011-present.

*Election Law Journal*. Member. 2013-present.

**Institutional Service (University-Level)**

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University Program Review Committee, 2009-2011.

Chair, 2010-2011

Vice-Chair, 2009-2010.

Graduate Council, 2005-2008.

Program Committee, 2005-2008.

Chair, Program Committee, 2007-2008.

University Libraries Committee, 2004-2014.

Search Committee for University Librarian and Associate Provost, 2014.